## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-25** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-10 EB-11 H-03 ACDA-19 OMB-01 IO-14

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CONFIDENTIAL USNATO 6268

E.O. 11652: GDS79 TAGS: MCAP NATO

SUBJ: BURDENSHARING AND JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT

FROM AMB RUMSFELD FOR SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND UNDER SECRETARY CASEY

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A. USNATO 6006 F. LONDON 14594 B. BONN 17951 G. USNATO 2652 C. ROME 14118 H. USNATO 3652 D. STATE 248790 I. USNATO 5794

E. USNATO 5871

BEGIN SUMMARY. ALLIED INTERPRETATIONS OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S REMARKS AT D CEMBER DPC MINISTERIAL (REFTEL B AND C) ARE SHARED BY INTERNATIONAL STAFF AND ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HERE AT NATO. IN VIEW OF RESULTING DOWNGRADING OF URGENCY ON BURDENSHARING ITEM WITHIN NATO, MINISTERIAL LEVEL ACTION IS REQUIRED IF US DESIRES TO ATTEMPT TO REDEVELOP IMPETUS TO MEET CONFIDENTIAL

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JACKSON-NUNN REQUIREMENTS AS INDICATED IN REF D. END SUMMARY.

1. BONN AND ROME REPORTS (REF B AND C) INTERPRETATIONS BY LEBER AND ITALIAN DEFENSE MINISTRY OFFICIALS ARE CONFIRMED

BY SIMILAR INTERPRETATION OF THE US POSITION ON THE PART OF MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF AND REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER NATIONAL DELEGATIONS HERE. A CURRENT READING OF THE ATTITUDES OF OUR ALLIES ON THIS SUBJECT WOULD BE FAR LESS ENCOURAGING THAN THAT REPORTED IN USNATO 5871 OF 3 DEC.

- 2. THE CHANGED ATTITUDE WAS CLEAR AT NAC AND DPC MEETINGS ON 19 DECEMBER, AT WHICH ALLIES THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR REDUCED US COST SHARES IN NATO BUDGETS WERE SILENT. AT NAC ON THAT DATE, US REP RECALLED THAT DEFENSE MINISTERS HAD ON DECEMBER 7 DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO FIND A COMMON SOLUTION TO THE BURDENSHARING PROBLEM AND HAD AGREED TO INSTRUCT THEIR STAFFS TO SEEK PROGRESS IN THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AT AN EARLY DATE. HE NOTED THAT THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEES WHICH WERE CHARGED WITH STUDYING AND RECOMMENDING NEW COST SHARING FORMULAE FOR NATO BUDGETS HAD MET SINCE THE MINISTERIAL MEETING, BUT THAT THEY CONCLUDED THEY NEEDED ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTION FROM THE COUNCIL IN ORDER TO PURSUE THEIR BURDENSHARING WORK FURTHER. THIS SUBJECT WOULD NOT B\* FURTHER EXAMINED BY THE COMMITTEES BEFORE MID-JANUARY, AND U.S. HOPED THAT BY THAT TIME, THE COUNCIL WOULD PROVIDE THE COMMITTEES WITH SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS LUNS REPLIED THAT HE RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEM BUT HAD BEEN UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S REMARKS HAD TAKEN THE PRESSURE OFF THE REDUCTION OF US SHARES OF NATO BUDGETS IN FAVOR OF NATIONAL FORCE IMPROVE-MENTS BY THE ALLIES. HE AGREED, HOWEVER, TO SCHEDULE A COUNCIL MEETING ON THE SUBJECT EARLY IN JANUARY.
- 3. THE DOCUMENT ON WHICH COUNCIL DISCUSSION IN EARLY JANUARY WILL BE BASED WAS FORWARDED IN DRAFT FORM BY USNATO 6229. DOCUMENT HAS NOW BEEN MODIFIED (SEE SEPTEL) AND SIGNED BY DEPUTY SYG FOR PUBLICATION. WHILE REVISED VERSION CONTINUES TO SUGGEST EXPEDITIOUS ACTION TOWARD MEETING JACKSON-NUNN REQUIREMENTS, IT ALSO EXPRESSES NEED FOR AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION AS TO US STATIONING COSTS AND DEFINITION OF ACCEPTABLE OFFSETS. IN ADDITION, IT STATES THAT IMPROVEMENTS IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES ARE OBVIOUSLY AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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BURDENSHARING PROBLEM IN THE WIDER SENSE.

4. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, I BELIEVE THAT WHILE NATO WILL CONTINUE TO CONSIDER BURDENSHARING, THE PRESSURE WHICH HAD BEEN BUILT UP PRIOR TO THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL FOR AN EARLY RESOLUT\*ON HAS BEEN RELIEVED BY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S STATEMENTS TO THE DPC AND THE LAC OF C NSIDERATION OF THE I\*EM I\* THE NAC MINISTERIAL MEETING, I.E.\* NO DISCUSSION OF BURDENSHARING IN SECRETARY KISSINGER'S INITIAL INTERVENTION (REF F) AND BRIEF STATEMENT IN NAC COMMUNIQUE THAT FOURTEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS ENDORSED THE BURDENS\*\*RING DECISIONS BY THE MINISTERS OF DEFENSE. AS WE SEE ISSUE, ALLIED AMBASSADORS TO NAC FAITHFULLY REPORTED TO THEIR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS THE SEVERAL

BURDENSHARING INITIATIVES WHICH U.S. LAUNCHED HERE (USNATO 2652, 29 MAY 1973; USNATO 3652, 2 AUGUST 1973; USNATO 5794, 29 NOVEMBER 1973). THEY WERE PERSUADED OF SERIOUSNESS OF U.S. PURPOSE AND OF NEED TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO HELP ADMINISTRATION COUNTER CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE GENERALLY, AND TO MEET SPECIFIC REQUESTS OF JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT. PERCEIVED LACK OF INTEREST IN BURDENSHARING MANIFESTED BY SECDEF AND SECSTATE AT MINISTERIAL SESSIONS EARLIER THIS MONTH HAS REGISTERED WITH ALLIED DEFMINS AND FONMINS AND WITH THEIR STAFFS IN EUROPEAN CAPITALS. AS A RESULT, PERMREPS FIND THEMSELVES SEEN AS SOMEWHAT OVERLY CONCERNED IN THE EYES OF THEIR OWN AUTHORITIES SINCE IT APPEARS TO THOSE AUTHORITIES THAT THEY WERE GULLED BY USNATO INTO BELIEVING THE PROBLEM WAS MORE SERIOUS THAN IT IS. I NOW BELIEVE THAT MOMENTUM CANNOT BE RESOTRED AT SOLELY AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL EITHER IN COUNCIL OR IN CAPITALS.

5. TO RESTORE MOMENTUM (AS STATED IN STATE 248790), ACTION BY THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE OR THE SECRETARY OF STATE (OR BOTH) WILL BE REQUIRED. THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY A LETTER FROM SECRETARY SCHLESINGER TO ALLIED DEFENSE MINISTERS REFERRING TO HIS PREVIOUS LETTER OF 5 DECEMBER(STATE 237836) WHICH WAS ALSO DISTRIBUTED TO SYG LUNS AND PERMREPS HERE. LETTER COULD POINT OUT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LONG-TERM BURDENSHARING AND SHORT-TERM BOP ACTIONS REQUIRED TO MEET JACKSON-NUNN GUIDELINES. IT COULD ALSO INDICATE THE NEED (OR LACK THEREOF) FOR SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN TIME FOR PRESIDENT'S FIRST REPORT TO CONGRESS -- OR FOR MAY MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. I COULD ALSO DISTRIBUTE COPIES OF SUCH A LETTER TO LUNS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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NATO PERMREPS. RUMSFELD

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